Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ANKARA 00211 101541Z

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-10 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01 AID-20

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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2346

S E C R E T ANKARA 0211

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CENTO
SUBJECT: CENTO SITUATION PAPER (REVISION FOUR)

REF: STATE 4910

1. COMPLETE TEXTS OF PARA 47 (FORMERLY PARA 46) SUB-PARAS E AND F) CONTAINED ANKARA 115. SUB-PARA F) ACTUALLY IS A COMPLETE REPLACEMENT OF FORMER SUB-PARA E), TO WHICH WE HAD OBJECTED STRONGLY.

2. TO ASSIST THE DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW, WHILE AVOIDING DUPLICATION OF PREVIOUS REPORTING, WE WILL EXPLAIN BELOW THE TOTAL COMPOSITION OF PARA 47, ENTITLED "CONCLUSIONS".

SUB-PARA A): IDENTICAL TO REVISION 3.

SUB-PARA B): FULL TEXT IN ANKARA 86.

SUB-PARA C):QUOTE WITH A POSSIBILITY OF DETENTE ON HER WESTERN BORDER AND A STRONG PEOPLES' REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON HER EAST, THE SOVIET UNION MAY VIEW THE CENTO REGION AND THE MIDDLE EAST AS A MOST PROMISING AREA FOR SUBVERSIVE OPERATIONS, DIRECTLY OR THROUGH A THIRD COUNTRY. THE SOVIETS HOPE TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES IN THE AREA BY
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PAGE 02 ANKARA 00211 101541Z

THE COORDINATED USE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, MILITARY AND

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SUBVERSIVE MEANS.THEY MAINTAIN "GOOD" DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE REGIONAL MEMBERS OF CENTO ON THE ONE HAND AND, AT THE SAME TIME, ENCOURAGE SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES IN THESE COUNTRIES. USE TRADE, ECONOMIC AID AND THE PRESENCE OF THEIR GROWING SEA-POWER TO PROJECT THEIR POLITICAL INFLUENCE. ALTHOUGH SOVIET INTEREST IN DETENTE WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WESTERN EUROPE PLACES SIGNIFICANT CONSTRAINTS ON HER FREEDOM OF ACTION IN THE CENTO REGION AND THE MIDDLE EAST, SOVIET ACTIONS DURING THE RECENT ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT SHOW THAT THE SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO TAKE RISKS WITH DETENTE IF THEY SEE OPPORTUNITIES FOR POLITICAL ADVANTAGE. THE SOVIETS HAVE USED THE RECENT ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT TO TRY TO INCREASE THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN INFLUENCE. HOWEVER, SOVIET ACTIONS AS THE WAR DREW TO AN END WERE CONSISTENT WITH THE PROVISIONS FOR MUTUAL RESTRAINTS IN THE US-SOVIET SUMMIT AGREEMENTS,AND THEY REFLECTED MOSCOW'S EVIDENT DESIRE TO MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF THE CRISIS ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FRUITS OF DETENTE THAT MOSCOW HOPES TO SECURE FROM THE WEST. HOW SUCCESSFUL THE SOVIETS PROVE TO BE IN CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITION WITH THE ARABS WILL DEPEND NOT ONLY ON SHIFTING ARAB PERCEPTIONS OF THE DEGREE OF SOVIET SUPPORT, BUT ALSO ON THE COURSE OF EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT. ANY IMPROVEMENT OF THE POSITION OF THE U.S.IN THE ARAB WORLD WILL DEPEND ON THE EXTENT OF ITS CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE EFFORTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. UNQUOTE

SUB-PARA D):QUOTE THE SOVIETS EXPLOIT LOCAL DISPUTES BETWEEN CENTO COUNTRIES AND THEIR NEIGHBORS AND USE THE TERRITORIES OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AS BASES FOR SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES AGAINST CENTO MEMBERS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH PERSONS OR GROUPS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY THE CASE IN IRAQ'S DEALINGS WITH IRAN AND PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN'S DEALINGS WITH PAKISTAN. UNQUOTE

SUB-PARA E): FULL TEXT IN ANKARA 115.

SUB-PARA F): FULL TEXT IN ANKARA 115.
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PAGE 03 ANKARA 00211 101541Z

SUB-PARA G): QUOTE IN THE CASE OF ANOTHER CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIA AND PAKISTAN, THE SOVIET UNION MAY WELL FOLLOW THE SAME POLICY AS IT DID DURING THE LAST CONFLICT I.E. PROVIDE MORAL, DIPLOMATIC AND MATERIAL, IF NOT DIRECT OPERATIONAL SUPPORT TO INDIA. IT MAY ALSO EXTEND SIMILAR SUPPORT TO AFGHANISTAN IN THE EVENT OF AN ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN. UNQUOTE

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

SUB-PARA H): SAME AS SUB-PARA G IN REVISION 3.

SUB-PARA I): LONG AGREED PARA RE NATIONALISM, DISTRUST, ETC.

SUB-PARA J): BASIC USG CONCLUDING SUB-PARA.
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EO Systematic Review
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